5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

THE CARIB

By Irving Rouse

INTRODUCTION

174 The *Carib*, like the *Arawak*, were South American in origin. According to their traditions, they came into the West Indies no more than a century before the arrival of Columbus; by his time they had succeeded in conquering all the Lesser Antilles and probably also the northeastern part of Trinidad, exterminating the *Arawak* men who formerly lived there and taking their wives as slaves. They were conducting raids upon the *Arawak* of the Greater Antilles, but there is no confirmation of reports that they had settled anywhere in that territory, except possibly in spots on the eastern end of Puerto Rico.

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Very little work has been done on *Carib* archeology. Some writers, however, have assigned to the *Carib* all the archeological remains in the Lesser Antilles described above as *Arawak*. In view of the shortness of the time during which the *Carib* inhabited the Lesser Antilles, this is not likely. The only possibly authentic *Carib* site known to the writer is the place at Banana Bay on the small island of Balliceaux to which the English moved the *Black Carib* in 1797. Fewkes (1922, p. 89), who made a study of this site, has not described the material found.[1]

[583] Additional *Carib* sites will undoubtedly be found in the future, but it should be difficult to identify them because of the fact that the *Carib* wives were often captive *Arawak* women, who probably made the pottery and other objects which survive in the sites according to their own customs. A study of the location of the historic *Carib* sites may perhaps help to overcome this difficulty.

HISTORY

175 Columbus first made contact with the *Carib* during his second voyage, in 1493, when he purposely sailed farther south in order to investigate these fierce savages of whom he had heard in Hispaniola. His first landing place was a small uninhabited island near Dominica; from there he went to Guadeloupe and discovered a *Carib* village. The men being absent on a raid, he was able to receive on board six captive *Arawak* women from

[1] Lovén (1935, p. 545) believes that even this site is *Arawak*.

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175 Puerto Rico. He then proceeded to St. Croix, where *Carib* warriors savagely attacked the expedition before it departed for the *Arawak* island of Puerto Rico.

The Spaniards made no attempt to settle the Lesser Antilles. There was no gold there, and the agricultural potentialities did not compensate for the difficulty of subduing the *Carib*. The colonists did, however, make numerous slave raids against the islands taking advantage, after the prohibition of such raids elsewhere, of a provision permitting attacks on cannibals.

In 1623 the British and French settled St. Kitts, driving the *Carib* from that island with great cruelty. In rapid succession the British then colonized Nevis, St. Lucia, Barbados, Montserrat, and Antigua; the French settled Guadeloupe, Martinique, Désirade, Marie-Galante, St. Lucia, and Grenada; and the Dutch occupied Montserrat and Antigua. By the end of the century the *Carib* had been driven from all the important islands except Dominica and St. Vincent, and on those islands they were being buffeted between the British and French, each of whom obtained the aid of the savages in attacks on the other.

French missionaries made many attempts after 1650 to convert the *Carib* to Christianity, but with little success. The missionaries began to reside among the Indians, to study and speak their language. Fathers like Raymond Breton and Phillipe de Beaumont remained 25 years in Dominica, but the *Carib* gave only lip service to the Christian religion. About 1706 the missionaries abandoned St. Vincent entirely because of a plot of the *Carib* to kill all of them.

In 1675 a cargo of Negro slaves was shipwrecked upon St. Vincent, and they intermarried with the Indians. This *Carib*-Negro mixture became most hostile to the Europeans, and so in 1795 the English moved them from St. Vincent, first to the small island of Balliceaux offshore and later to Ruatán Island near the coast of Honduras, where they now occupy the entire coastline from Stann Creek in British Honduras to Black River in the Republic of Honduras, and are known as the *Garif*, or *Black Carib*.

The *Carib* who remained in the West Indies also intermarried somewhat with the Negroes. They continued to reside in Dominica and St. Vincent until the end of the 19th century, when they were moved to a reservation in Dominica. At present there are some 500 survivors, less than a third of whom are full-blooded[3] (pl. 98).

SOURCES

114 Many of the writings of Columbus, his son, and the early explorers and historians who have been quoted above as sources for *Arawak* ethnology also contain some data on the *Carib*. The best material, however, comes

[3] The above account does not take into consideration the few *Carib* believed to have lived among the *Arawak* in Puerto Rico and Trinidad. Their history has already been given above in connection with the *Arawak*.

[113] 4. Dutertre (R. -P.), Histoire Générale des Antilles /General History of the Antilles/. Paris, 1658.

174 several other historians have set forth an opinion diametrically opposed to this. According to them, the Caribs of the Antilles came, on the contrary, from the Guianas, since they have heard the Indians themselves say that they were descended from the Galibis, who still inhabit these regions today. This is in harmony with the theory generally adopted by modern linguists, according to whom the origin of the Carib race, in its widest sense, would be found at a point in the center of Brazil, situated possibly to the north, possibly to the south, of the Amazon. It is from this point that the Caribs appear to have migrated to Guiana, whence they betook themselves to the Lesser Antilles, following almost the /131/ same route as their Arawak predecessors. This latter theory is today held by the most informed anthropologists and we shall see later that it is in part confirmed by the linguistic observations we have been able to make.

Wherever they came from the Caribs, (according to the most reliable writers), appear as they overran the islands to have massacred all the men and spared the women whom they made their wives or their slaves. These women were of the Arawak race and spoke a 198 191 different language from that of the Caribs. An interesting fact, and one which is recounted by most travellers, is that this Arawak language perpetuated itself among the women from mother to daughter, while the men spoke Carib from father to son, the members of both sexes understanding, besides the two languages, but speaking only that which was proper to its own sex. Father Labat, after having related these facts, adds that there existed among the Caribs still a third language belonging to the warriors, but this third language is not mentioned in any other place. The duality of language, whose origin we have just shown, has been recorded at different times and was perpetuated for more than five centuries among the Caribs of the Antilles; even today there remain traces of it among the last members of this race whose present vocabulary still contains some Arawak words.

175 When Columbus landed in the Lesser Antilles, at Guadeloupe, at the time of his second voyage, in 1493, and in the other islands during his later voyages, he was always greeted with arrows by the Caribs; the Spanish also, who remembered these islanders unfavorably,

175 the more so as they had seen human remains in their habitations and who furthermore did not find in these latitudes the gold they sought, did not waste time in abandoning the conquest of these islands. The French, the English, and the Dutch, who came to establish themselves in the Caribbean islands a century and a half later, ran a foul of the same hostility on the part of their inhabitants, but nevertheless, according to Father Dutertre, the Carib, at the time of the arrival of the Europeans was "the most content, the happiest, the least vicious, the most sociable, the most genuine race, and the race least harassed by disease of all /132/ the nations of the world." When the French and the English came to contest their islands, the Caribs withdrew saying to them, "The land from which you come must be very poor or you must have very little of it if you look for more at such a distance and at the risk of such dangers."

At this time the Caribs occupied all the Leeward Islands, their domain extending from Tabago to Puerto Rico, and Guadeloupe was their stronghold. Their pride and the independence of their character made them live continually at war with the invaders, and they never consented to submit, preferring death to slavery. The earliest European colonists, since they could not subdue them, had to resort to black labor, and when the slave trade was organized, the blacks multiplied rapidly, while the natives became more and more scarce. In order to avoid perpetual quarrels, France and England concluded a treaty in 1660 in which it was agreed that the Caribs would be relegated to the two islands of Dominica and St. Vincent, where they would be left in peace; their number did not then exceed 6, 000. Nevertheless some isolated Caribs still lived on other islands, notably Guadeloupe, on the east coast, where a group of five or six families lived, and Martinique, also on the east coast, at Rose Point, where one family still lived in 1694.

When Father Labat, in 1700, proceeding from Martinique to Guadeloupe, was obliged to put into port at Dominica, which was then a French possession, he found the island inhabited almost exclusively by Caribs, but the latter were no longer very numerous, and there were hardly 2, 000 of them, of which two-thirds were women or children. He took advantage of this stop-over of one week to penetrate to the interior of the island and lived for some time among the natives, of whom he has left us a very detailed description. The appearance of Dominica indeed has changed little since the time of Father Labat, and when he says that he traversed its whole width

● 175 "without finding anything besides forests and three or four small clearings full of banana trees" and saw there "the most beautiful trees in the world," he seems to describe it as it is today.

As for the several thousand Caribs who existed in St. Vincent in 1735, they mixed rapidly with the /133/ blacks, whence the name "black Caribs" or Caraibes noirs by which they are known. They were banished for the most part by the English, in 1795 and 1796, to the island of Ruatan and to Trujillo, on the northern coast of Honduras, where they have remained. In the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, the islands of St. Vincent and Dominica were also invaded by European colonists and by blacks who were becoming more and more numerous, so that the Caribs disappeared from there almost completely; there still existed 192 of them, more or less mixed with black blood, in St. Vincent, in 1881, but there are none today. In Dominica, their fate threatened to be the same if the English authorities, always /134/ foresighted, had not established a reservation on the island where the last representatives of a race on the point of dying out live in peace, in the very environment in which it existed at the time of the conquest.

131 The territory reserved for the Caribs is situated on the eastern shore of the island. In order to reach it from Roseau, the principal port, situated in the southwest, where we were anchored, it was necessary to cross the entire width of the island, following paths which were most uneven and impassable as far as carriages were concerned. We traversed on horseback the 24 kilometers which separated Roseau from the village of Rosalie, and then had to go up the eastern shore from south to north, for about 17 kilometers, passing Castle Bruce, in order to reach the southern tip of the Carib territory, which is called the "Carib district" or the "Carib reservation" by the English. This district is bounded on the north by a curved line in the form of a prolonged S stretched in a general north-east-south-west direction, cut in half by the 15° 30' line North Latitude; on the west by the path of the Two Branch river, from which the boundary line extends for some distance to form with it a rectangle which does not belong to the Caribs; on the south, by a straight line, in a general west-east direction, slanting a little to the south, to the Rayward River, whose course it follows to its mouth; finally, on the east by the Atlantic. This territory has an area of 3700 acres, that is, 1497 hectares 39 [[33]]areas, or in round numbers, 1500 hectares; it is very uneven and high mountains surround narrow ravines, where spring water trickles.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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174 sanguineal) kinship, religion and ritual, warfare and navigation, basketry and
177 house construction. Among the plants that may have been introduced by
them we may mention a fish-drug (*Clibadium sylvestre*); an herb for curing
192 arrow wounds; the arrow reed (*Gynerium sagittatum*); a marantaceous plant, *Ischnosiphon arouma*, that is still the principal material employed for basketry, and the cashew tree (*Anacardium occidentale*). It is worth noticing that a considerable number of the cultural words that were borrowed presumably from Cariban Kalina are also found in Tupí.

The most recent invaders of these islands, the Europeans themselves, introduced a large number of new things and concepts, together with the words that, for the most part, served the Island-Caribs as models for naming them. BRETON's dictionary (7) contains some six dozen of these loan-words, of which the great majority comes from Spanish (although thereafter borrowing was mainly from French). These include the names of various weapons, tools, clothes and ornaments; of bread, wine, salt and sugar; of carpenter, Christian, coast-guard, king, priest; of Englishman, Flemming, Frenchman, Irishman, Negro and Spaniard; those for the pig, cow, cat, rat, horse, donkey, goat, sheep and hen; those for the coconut, pine (presumably wood rather than tree), and sugar-cane; and those for church, prayer and baptize.

● 175 What may be called the political history of the Island Carib in early
colonial times has been summarized in another work (58, Introduction), from
648 which the following citations are taken: « ... by 1493 they had halted in their advance, and, except for sporadic feuds of an almost personal character, had established friendly relations with their neighbours to the northwest, the Taino of Puerto Rico, alongside of whom they fought as allies in the unavailing attempt of its inhabitants to defend that island from the Spaniards... Little is heard of the Caribbee islands from the time of the Taínos' defeat, until, in 1622-1623, St. Kitts (Saint Christopher's) was 'rediscovered' for the French by d'Esnambuc, and for the English by Warner. But although they remained unconquered throughout these years, they did not escape ravage. In 1515 the Carib of Guadeloupe... repulsed a Spanish attack under Ponce de Leon; and defeated, in 1520, an attempted settlement of their island led by Diego Colon, governor of Hispaniola. Laudonniere was told by the Carib of Dominica... — where he touched in 1564, and peaceably traded hatchets, knives, and beads for plantains, pineapples, and sweet potatoes — that they greatly feared the Spaniards, who came thither and 'cut off their stones'. And from this same group Father Raymond Breton heard similar complaints some seventy-five years later ».

Guerrilla warfare between the Europeans and the Indians, with peaceful intermissions, continued throughout the seventeenth century, as one island after another fell to the Dutch, English, or French; until, in 1660, these last two powers signed a treaty guaranteeing the « perpetual possession » of Dominica and St. Vincent to the Island Carib, who on their side, undertook to cease raiding the European settlements on the other islands (this agreement was reaffirmed in 1748 in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle). Nevertheless, the conflict continued; and by the turn of the century the Indians had been reduced, according to la Borde, to some four thousand souls divided between the two islands still remaining to them. The end came in 1763, when England, at the treaty of Paris, formally annexed both Dominica and St. Vincent. However, the Indians, though henceforth confined to the more inaccessible

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parts of these islands, continued to live by hunting, fishing, and food-gathering, with a minimum of horticulture in burnt forest clearings; and kept up their trade-excursions to the Guianas until well into the nineteenth century.

Division of labour was as follows:

Women	*Men*
planting, weeding, reaping, food-gathering.	felling, burning, and clearing land.
preparation of food, drink, oil, paint.	fishing and hunting.
carrying of water, fuel, food.	house construction.
making: pottery	making: dugouts, paddles, masts, and sails
cassava griddles	bows, arrows, clubs, and blow-tubes
calabash-vessels	stools, mortars and pestles
« teeth » for stone-chip graters.	cassava-troughs
spinning cotton thread (with spindles).	grater-boards
weaving hammocks.	cane-presses
	carved wooden and moulded waxen figurines.
	spinning bromelia twine (on leg).
	weaving all basketry.

While all women were supposed to acquire such accomplishments as the making of pottery, the spinning of cotton, and the weaving of hammocks, some of the men's work was more specialized, particularly with regard to the building of dugout canoes and to basketry. The latter craft had been carried to a degree of perfection and artistry rendered possible only by the fineness of the principal material used (*Ischnosiphon arouma*). Most complicated as to construction is the long tubular cassava-press (*rukéma*), to make which a knowledge of various techniques and patterns is required. Sifters are of a more-or-less open « hourglass » twill, and are round in shape. Back-baskets or « carry-alls » (*katáuli*) were of two kinds, the commoner consisting of a back, two sides, and a base, woven in « hourglass » twill, and mounted on a frame that made it possible to rest the load without lowering it to the ground. These were supported when in use by a band passing over the bearer's forehead. Lattice-type, hexagonal weave containers for food and offerings were